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The first time they go to the clearing after the birth of any child, they practice a special ritual called "míxpf purf-ré dō'tekūsé," that is, the entwining of the leaves of the açaf / assaí/. The father goes in front, and behind, the mother carrying the child. The father, at more or less every ten meters or steps, ties two by two the leaflets of the açaf, and throws them on the road. If they must cross any stream, and the child is of the male sex, he makes a kind of canoe with the leaves and puts it on the /367/ water. The purpose of these practices is to ensure that the child and those of his house never lose their way, wi'seri-khāra-re mfx'pf purf-ré dō'té-kūsé.

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The newly married woman who seeks out many other men becomes transformed during the night into an anta and goes out through the forest to graze (78).

78. There were indicated to us two cases of similar transformations, both having happened shortly before this information was given (1953), one that was supposed to have taken place in Urubucuará and another in Iauareté, the name of these wives "without shame," according to the expression of one of the informants, being cited to us.

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It is what is called "wexkō dohogō" (literally: ruined into an anta). At dawn she is again transformed into a woman and returns, still taking bits of grass from her teeth. An indication of this event is the paleness of the wife. When she goes out at night, however, she leaves her legs in the hammock. When the husband sees this, he turns the legs in the opposite position, that is, toward the head of the hammock. For this reason, on the following day the woman will feel strong pains in her hips. On the following night the husband turns them in the direction opposite that of the first time, and the wife's pains will cease.

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In marriage, they conceive the relations between husband and wife as natural, and, as the purpose of these relations, or, better, as the purpose of marriage, the procreation of children for the tribe.

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They do not recognize, however, the exclusive right of one spouse over the other with regard to these relations. There is then nothing to say about conjugal fidelity (97).

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97. One of the Missionaries, with 30 years of residence among the Indians, in conversation with the author of this work, appeared impressed by episodes involving an individual who went so far as to abuse the wife of another, without this causing repulsion on the part of the husband or surprise on the part of the others.

just as there is nothing to be said about virginity (98)

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98. In putting together a vocabulary, we noticed several significant facts. Many natives consulted by us, among them the most educated alumni of the Missions, could not find an equivalent for the Portuguese term fornicação /fornication/, that is, one which would express illegitimate sexual relations. They indicated the same terms as for the legitimate relations between the spouses, affirming positively that different terms for these diverse relations did not exist. Likewise they did not know of a word corresponding to the Portuguese adultério /adultery/, affirming, moreover, that it does not exist in the Tucano language. The Veteran Missionary Pe. Pedro Kok, out of need for his ministry, created two terms descriptive of the act, that is, Wǎkɬé manapō-tígo-ne and Wǎkɬé nō'mō-tígo-ne, in order to express,

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/footnote 98 cont./ respectively, adultery on the part of the man or of the woman. According to consultations held with nine persons of both sexes, in different places, the result is that these terms combined constituted an inexpressive redundancy. Wōākñe or Wōākahnē means simply relation of the sexes, without the qualification of legitimate or illegitimate by our Christian morals. The addition to the word Wōākñe of the specific term "with one who has a husband," manapō-tigo-ne, or "with one who has a wife," nōmō-tigō-nē, does not give it the idea of illegitimacy, which the natives do not even comprehend. Just as there also does not exist in the Tukano language (and moreover in the other native idioms) a term corresponding to the concept of virginity. Already during our first stay among those tribes, in 1947, the Irmā Superlora /Sister Superior/ of one of the girls' schools of the Mission told us how some of the students, upon hearing so much talk about virginity, but having difficulty in learning this concept, came to ask her for more clarification.

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of the bride. Legally virginity can not exist, as will be seen below (VIII -- 1, b (7)). The Catechesis, in referring to the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God, uses in Tukano the Latin expression "Maria Virgo" /Virgin Mary/.

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We thought at first (and so manifested) that the acts characterized by us as conjugal infidelities were not punished because the husband feared the vengeance of the rival or that his wife might leave him. We must change this opinion, in the face of numerous and categorical affirmations by natives of eight different tribes (Tukano, Taryana, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka, Tuyuka, Bará, Desāna, and Wanāna), /380/ some of whom, well informed about

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- 837 other tribes, with whom they live in the same maloca or povoado, promised us that the same happens among all the tribes of this region.

881 After the individuals of both sexes have gone through the puberty initiation, -- be they married or single -- sexual relations
836 with a large number of persons of the tribe and, under some conditions, also with those of other tribes, and with the civilized themselves, are permissible for them.

833 They conceive the sexual relations between the two sexes (99)

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[881] 99. Male or female homosexuality, it seems, has always been regarded as something reprobable and, for this reason, always practiced secretly. Officially, as far as is reported, it only exists in the puberty rite of the boys.

as a normal pleasure for the individuals who have reached legal majority by the puberty rite, and therefore such relations are practiced publicly, in front of their own parents or their own spouse (100).

100. It is understandable that the relations, although legally permissible, might not always be prudent and thus are not practiced publicly. Such is the case for the individual who, having fought with the husband, does not touch his wife in his presence. This comes from positive information obtained.

just as the various physiological acts of eating, drinking, or anything else are performed in front of any person (101).

[829] 101. Out of mixed feelings of distrust and hostility toward the civilized, or even because they know directly or indirectly that their morals condemn these liberties, they do not

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Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piasava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

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125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuará, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

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One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuará. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal place. How long will this state of things last? The known cases of tropical diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malarial therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i)).

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It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

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One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

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knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

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If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

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These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

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Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

has reported a similar three-day isolation period among the Tucano Indians.

The isolation period concludes with three major magical rites. The purpose of the first is to render all foods safe for the parents and infant, the second is to render the river safe for the parents and infant. The river anaconda and other water creatures, the Cubeo say, are enraged at the birth of a child and must be made to leave. The third is to remove the child's fetal skin (*kürdjü*) by painting its body with *genipa*. The fetal skin, the Cubeo say, is not a human skin; if it is not removed the child cannot grow.

The arrival of an infant to the *maloca* is a period of grave crisis. It is the principal responsibility of the men of the *maloca* to dispel the dangers. The behavior of the father comes under the designation, perhaps, of the *rouvade* — the practice of the man taking to his bed when his wife is giving birth. Among the Cubeo, however, this is no magical participation in the birth of the child. It is rather part of the rites or the responsibilities of the patrilocal community toward the welfare of a newcomer. The father's brothers bring in each of the foodstuffs that must be blown with tobacco smoke and the dangers chanted away. The headman, or a shaman if one is in residence, is responsible for blowing over the river with tobacco smoke and chanting away its dangers with appropriate spells. The grandmother paints the infant with *genipa*. The mother's magical responsibilities, apart from the movement and food taboos, is to look after the umbilical cord until it dries and falls off. She coats the stump with wood charcoal to keep it from bleeding. When it falls off she carries it to the spot where the birth took place and buries it there. As already mentioned, both parents must refrain from sexual intercourse or the child will develop a wasting sickness and die. Sexual continence continues until the infant can take solid nourishment as a steady part of its diet, a period of about a year. Male adultery during this period, the Cubeo insist, is equally dangerous to the nursing infant.

Every food is a source of danger to the infant and to the parents so that a specific spell must be recited to decontaminate each item. All fish as a class are regarded as bearing the common menace of a lodged bone in the throat, but I did not collect a general spell for fish. Each species must be addressed by name and its specific qualities mentioned. Some have small bones that lodge in the gums. Some have spiny backs or heavy scales. Whether a fish has a particularly troublesome feature or not, as a food it must be mentioned. The spells are highly standardized and vary only by name of fish and its distinguishing characteristic. In the charm it is the children of the

THE DRINKING PARTY

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of social health of the sibs. They follow, in fact, a cycle of active entertaining leading eventually to drunken brawls and quarrels with allegations of sorcery and so to an era of bad feeling when only very close sibs entertain one another at parties where the drinkers are subdued and dismal. The cycle of euphoria-depression in the drinking parties reflects rather accurately the shifting state of social relations among sibmates and phratry mates.

The *unkúndye* is to be distinguished from other ceremonial occasions that are accompanied by drinking, such as initiation rites, mourning, and naming a child. It is more of a secular affair. It may commemorate an event, such as completion of a house or the end of a pubescent girl's brief isolation period. In the main, it has its own justification and its own compulsion. The justification is to bring the sibs together so that they may drink, dance, sing, gossip, and narrate publicly their origin traditions. Since attendance is generally limited to sibs of the phratry, the *unkúndye*, with all its erotic provocativeness, is hardly for courtship. It does stimulate and encourage adultery, however. The compulsion is to demonstrate economic capability. A sib should be able to provide all its phratry mates with more chicha than they can possibly consume. It should have a house large enough to encompass the entire phratry, and its young people should be vigorous enough to dance virtually without rest from late afternoon on one day until after dawn on the next. The rule of the *unkúndye* is that it must go on until the last drop of chicha has been consumed. The pride of the hosts is that with all the guests' efforts to drink heartily they could just not make it. Thus, while the *unkúndye* is a social binder, there is enough conflict in it to provoke serious resentment, quarrels, and temporary disruption of phratric unity.

The hosts of an *unkúndye* have two very evident anxieties as they go about their preparations. One is that they will have enough chicha. This they can control, for they have planned their cultivations to allow for at least 15 per cent of total manioc production to go into chicha. And they work hard at preparing the brew; an entire community will work happily all through the night, reducing the manioc to a mash and masticating it all mouthful by mouthful to give fermentation a speedy start. What they cannot control is attendance. The *unkúndye* is also a test of a sib's standing within the phratry. If it is well esteemed it will attract many guests. When I stayed with the *Bahúkiwa* they held a drinking party almost weekly, counting upon me as the novel attraction that would assure good attendance. As already mentioned they were then in an "up" phase, having moved to the main stream from the *caño*, and they basked for a time in an orgy

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THE DRINKING PARTY

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel between only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties. Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists. The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband, pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this violent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing. The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense, shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the accused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down. Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner.

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks.

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion.

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women — the sexually most desirable — are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of

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THE CUBEO

an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

THE MEN'S SIDE

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In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

The *dyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjiko* and her consort.

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On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Heheneua* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *henddox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

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As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

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The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

571 deed, reason to doubt the sufficiency of the ecological thesis generally.
 (578) Insofar as Cubeo culture is concerned the question is clearly a complex one. If we were to postulate a simple explanation at all it would
 (122) be to the effect that the Cubeo experience is close to the irreducible level of stress and strain inherent in community living. In the absence of strong restraints the people respond to these stresses by leaving. This explanation is perhaps not too far wrong. It is inadequate, however, for our purpose, which is to delineate the formal principles of homeostasis in a "simple" tropical forest horticultural society. There is no need to repeat in detail the powerful forces that hold sibmen together. They include the totality of binding forces that exist in Cubeo culture. In the institution of the male play pack they draw in addition upon the psychological attractions that are formed by the closest of associations developed over the period from early childhood to adulthood. It is not until marriage that the paternal bonds of sibship begin to weaken — and even then only moderately.

571 As in the case of the phratry, the stresses within the sib result from
 614 adultery, personal insult, and resentment of authority. Can the prevalence of adultery be attributed simply and directly to the extraordinarily wide extension of exogamy that severely curtails courtship?
 578 Actually, the adulterous men are not the unmarried. It is almost always the married man who seduces or is seduced by a sib brother's wife. The unmarried, as we have noted, find sexual outlet more commonly in onanism, homosexual play, and near incest. These unorthodox modes of sexual activity reaching into early adulthood seem to produce a sexual maladjustment that is most manifest in the early stages of marriage. It is consequently the young wives and the older, more mature married men who are the most common adulterous partners. The role of exogamy is indirect but nonetheless strong; it may be regarded as a natural cause of adultery and hence of internal
 (562) discord. There is also an apparent symbolic cause: the Cubeo symbolic view of a woman as separatist and as disruptive of sib unity. Indeed, this would seem to be the Cubeo woman's natural role. But this natural role gains in consequence of being placed in a traditional and symbolic setting. In such a setting the expectations are intensified and it is easier for the persons to overcome scruples.

578 We have seen that the Cubeo regard female adultery as more or less natural but that they regard male adultery more seriously as a sign of hostility. Adultery implies sibling rivalry, which the Cubeo acknowledge, but they have no specific theory to account for it. In
 571 status-conscious societies, status rivalry is a common institutional
 837 cause of conflict between brothers. Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry
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